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# JOHN PORY'S LOST DESCRIPTION OF PLYMOUTH COLONY

## TOGETHER WITH CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS OF ENGLISH COLONIZATION ELSEWHERE IN NEW ENGLAND AND IN THE BERMUDAS

# JOHN PORY'S LOST DESCRIPTION *of* PLYMOUTH

COLONY *in the* EARLIEST DAYS *of the* PILGRIM FATHERS

TOGETHER with contemporary accounts of ENGLISH COLONIZATION elsewhere in NEW ENGLAND and in the BERMUDAS

*Edited* with an INTRODUCTION and NOTES *by*
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of The John Carter Brown Library, Brown University

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*TO*

**Sir William Osler**

PRESIDENT OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL
SOCIETY

THUS have I breiflie related (so far forth as hath come to my knowledge and remembrance) everie thing of most note and importance that hath befallen in the first discoverie and planting of these [Bermuda] Ilands until this present.

[*Master* RICHARD NORWOOD:]
*Insularum de la Bermuda Detectio*
[*circa* 1622]

THERE was in *this ship* [the 'Discovery'] a gentle-man by name Mr. Iohn Poory, . . . and him selfe after his returne [to England] did this poore-plantation [of Plymouth] much credite, amongst those of no mean ranck.

*Governor* WILLIAM BRADFORD:
*History of Plimoth Plantation*
[Ed. *Doyle, pp.* 182–5]

# Preface

THE complete text of one of the unique treasures in the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, is herewith published for the first time. Vivacious in style, and treating of matters of much historic interest, it deserves a wider reading than it has ever yet had in the somewhat difficult script in which it is written. Little is known of its history until it arrived in this country from England a few years ago and found its present appropriate place. Its publication at this time is a contribution to the celebration of the approaching Tercentenary of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth in 1620. As Bradford did not commence to write his *History Of Plimmoth Plantation* until 1630, this detailed description of the town and its English settlers antedates his earliest work by several years.

C. B.

*The* JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY
*January* 26, 1917

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# Introduction

THE manuscript here reproduced was written about 1622 and has recently been purchased by the John Carter Brown Library. This little unbound quarto of thirty-two pages (three of them blank[1]) is written in the fine, clear handwriting characteristic of many English manuscripts of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and may readily be deciphered by any one familiar with the scripts of the period. The narrative consists of three main sections. The first and most extended is anonymous and relates to the discovery and early history of the Bermudas; the second (a copy probably in the same handwriting) is a delightful epistolary description of Plymouth and its neighbourhood in 1622 by that well-known Virginian Adventurer and friend of Governor William Bradford, John Pory; while the third (likewise a copy probably in the same handwriting) is a similar description by Pory of the New England coast and its inhabitants.

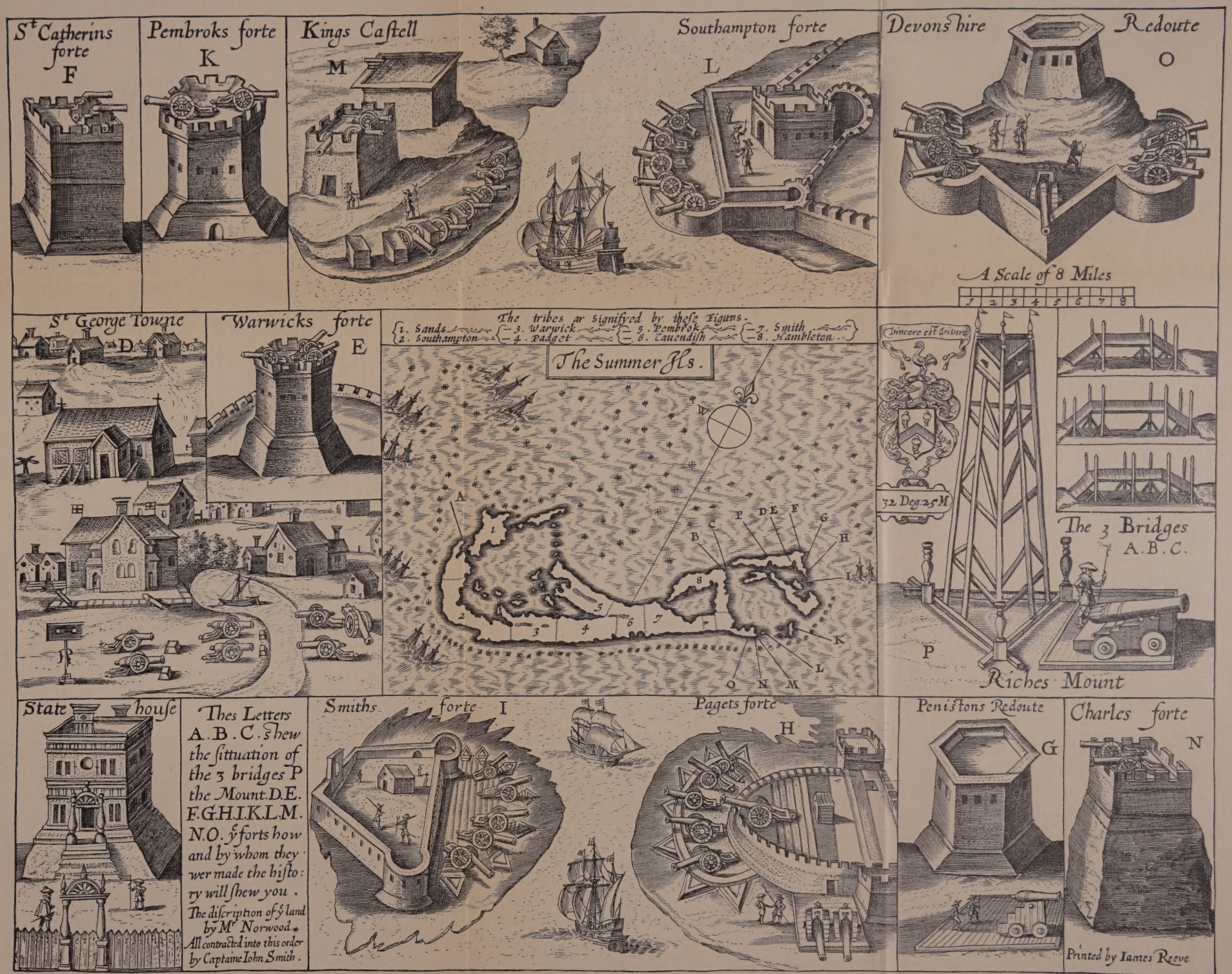
Captain John Smith evidently consulted this very manuscript in preparing his *Generall Historie of Virginia*, 1624, for the press, and cited certain sections almost verbatim from it, altering the text only slightly here and there, as for instance from the first to the third person, etc.,

etc., to suit his convenience, in fact making just such changes as clearly establish the priority of our narrative. Moreover we learn from the document, that it was prepared during the term of office of Governor Butler, i.e., before autumn, 1622, while the first of the two Pory letters bears the definite date 1622. Finally, I have been able to identify the anonymous author of the first section, and the probable transcriber of the second and third sections, of the manuscript as Richard Norwood, the early official surveyor of the English Plantation in the Bermudas.[1] Captain Smith tells us on page 177 of his *Historie* that he 'extracted' his account of these islands '*out of a plot of Master* Richard Norwood *Surueior, and the relations of diuers others.*' In another place (pages 187–9) Smith says concerning Norwood:

'According to the directions of the Councell and Company, as they had determined by lot, M. *Norwood* tooke a plot of the Ile, and diuided it with as much faithfulnes as he could, assigning to euery Adventurer his share or proportion, as namely, to lay out a large proportion, to be called the generall land, . . . and euery Aduenturer to haue his shares in these tribes as was determined, by casting lots in *England*, the manner of it appears by the *Map*, and more largely by his Booke of the Suruay of the Countrey, which is in the Records of the Colony. And then began this which was before, as you haue heard, but as an vnsettled and confused Chaos, to receiue a disposition, forme, and order, and become indeed a Plantation.'

Strangely resembling the above is the following passage in the first person from the opening anonymous section of our manuscript:[2]

'I alsoe




CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH'S ISSUE OF NORWOOD'S MAP OF THE BERMUDAS OF 1622
AS REARRANGED AND PUBLISHED IN THE "GENERALL HISTORIE," 1624
(*Size of original*)

'I alsoe receiued by Captaine Tucker directions from the Aduenturers to deuide the country, and to assigne to each Aduenturer his shares or portion of land, and withall [to prepare] a description [1] with notes touching the manner how they would haue it done as they had formerly determined by lot, which thing I did with all faithfullnes and diligence. The manner of it doth aboue appeare, and is more largely manifested in a booke of the Suruey of the country exhibited to the right honorable his Majesties Counsell and the Court of Aduenturers for those parts. And then began this, which was before, as it were, an vnsetled and confused chaos (I meane as touching a plantation, for considered onely as a regiment it was otherwise) to receive a convenient disposition, forme, & order, & to become indeed a plantation; . . .'

It is Richard Norwood's lost 'plot' of the Bermudas together with the reproduction of his map of 1622 to which he therein refers, and John Pory's lost description of Plymouth Colony in the earliest days of the Pilgrims to which we would especially call the reader's attention. The narratives are written in a brisk and vivid style in contrast to the stilted accounts of some early travellers, and contain much information which to-day is fresh and entertaining.

As illustrating the contents of the first section of the manuscript, we may cite a passage from Norwood's quaint and interesting description of the great sea-tortoises and their habits:[2]

'. . . And first of the turkle, . . . I will onlie write what I haue seene and knowne my selfe. They are in the shape of their bodie like a crab-fish, and haue foure finnes; they are as greate as three

or

or foure men can carrie. The upper parte of them is covered with a greate shell, . . . The flesh that cleaveth to the inside of this, being roasted against the fire is excellent meate, almost like the marrow of beefe, . . . She hath also a shell on her bellie, not so hard, but being boyled it becommeth soft like the sinewes or gristle of beefe, and good meate. . . . They are like to fowle in respect of the smalnes and fashion of their heads and necks, which are wrinckled like a turkies, but white and not so sharpe billed. . . .

'They resemble beasts in that their flesh is like veale, but mor[e] hard and sollid; and they feed alwaies upon grasse growing at the bottome of the water, . . . Shortlie after their first comming in, the male and female couple, which we call cooting. This they continue some three dayes together, . . . Not long after the shee turckle comes up by night upon some sandie bay, and further up then the water useth to flow she diggeth a hole in the sand with her finne some two foote deepe, and there comming up seuerall nights layes her eggs, some halfe a bushell (which are about the bignes of a hens egge and round as a ball), and each time covers them with sand verie curiouslie, so that a man shall hardlie finde the place. These eggs (as it seemes) are afterwards hatched by the heate of the sunne, and then by the providence of God (the meanes yet unknowne to us) are brought out of the earth, . . . They grow slowlie & seeme to haue a verie long life, they-le [= they'll] sleepe on the top of the water, and were wont to sleepe often on the land before the countrie was peopled; they will also live out of the water some three weekes, but that without meate, and mourne and pine away; they are very wittie. . . .'

Turning for a moment to Master John Pory's second letter, we find the following brief reference to the struggling temporary English settlement at Damariscove:[1]

'. . . Besides

'. . . Besides that plantation of New Plymmouth in 41 degrees and ½, and that other in Massachusett in 42 or thereabouts, there is a third in Canada at Damrells Coue [= Damariscove] in 43 and 45 minutes at the cost of Sir Ferdinando Gorge, consisting of some 13 persons who are to provide fish all the yeare with a couple of shallops for the most timelie loading of a ship.

'And to keepe that Iland to be fearmed [= farmed] out in Sir Ferdinandos name to such as shall there fish, and least the French or the salvages should roote them out in winter, they haue fortified themselues with a strong pallisado of spruce trees of some 10 foote high, haueing besides their small shott, one peece of ordinance and some 10 good dogs. Howsoeuer they speed, they undertake an hazardous attempt, considering the salvages haue beene this yeare (as those to the north use to be by the French) furnished in exchange of skinnes by some unworthie people of our nation with peeces, shott, powder, swords, blades, and most deadlie arrow heads, and with shallops from the French, which they can mannage as well as anie Christian, as also their peeces, it being an ordinarie thing with them to hitt a bird flying. And how litle they are to be trusted here as well as in Virginia, may appeare by the killing latelie of the maister of a ship of Plimmouth with 18 of his Companie among the Ilands toward the north-east, which was the cause that the same ship lost her fishing voyage & went emptie home. . . .'

Most interesting of all is Pory's first letter written late in 1622 (old style), which contains such a glowing account of Plymouth Plantation as might well have filled the hearts of the Pilgrim Fathers with pride, had they ever seen it. Pory's narrative should no doubt carry all the more weight because it bears no sign of sectarian bias

bias. It will be remembered that he had been Secretary for Virginia and had held other offices in that Colony since 1618. On his return to England in 1622 he sailed on the *Discovery*, 'a vessel of sixty tons burden', commanded by Capt. Thomas Jones, which among other places fortunately touched at Plymouth in a time of famine. Says Governor Bradford under that date:[1]

'Behold now another providence of God, a ship comes into the harbor, one captain Ion[e]s being cheefe therin, . . . ther was in *this ship* a gentle-man by name mr. Iohn Poory, he had been Secretarie in Virginia, and was now going home passenger *in this ship*. . . . and him selfe after his returne did this poore-plantation much credite, amongst those of no mean ranck.'

This last remark of Bradford's probably refers in part to the following words by Pory now first published:[2]

'. . . After some dangerous and almost incureable errors and mistakings, he [the pilot of the Mayflower] stumbled by accident upon the harbour of Plimouth, where after the Planters had fayled of their intention, and the pilot of his, it pleased Almightie God (who had better provided for them then their owne hearts could imagine) to plant them upon the seate of an old towne [Patuxet], which divers [years?] before had beene abandoned of the Indians. So they both quietlie and justlie sate downe without either dispossessing anie of the natiues, or being resisted by them, and without shedding so much as one drop of blood, which fælicitie of theirs is confirmed unto them even by the voyces of the salvages them selues, who generallie do acknowledge not onlie the seate, but the whole segniorie thereto belonging, to be, and do themselues disclaime all title from it, so that the right of those Planters to it is altogether unquestionable,

unquestionable,—a favour which since the first discoverie of America God hath not vouchsafed, so far as ever I could learne, vpon anie Christian nations within that Continent, . . . but to leave this priuiledge to them whome it concernes, and to describe to your Lordshipp the excellencie of the place, first, the harbour is not onelie pleasant for aire and prospect, but most sure for shipping both small and greate, being land-locked on all sides. The towne is seated on the ascent of a hill, which besides the pleasure of variable objects entertaining the unsatisfied eye, such is the wholesomenes of the place (as the Governor [Bradford] told me) that for the space of one whole yeare, of the two wherein they had beene there, dyed not one man, woman, or child. This healthfulnes is accompanied with much plentie both of fish and fowle everie day in the yeare, as I know no place in the world that can match it. In March the eeles come forth out of places where they lie bedded all winter, into the fresh streames, and there [*i. e.*, thence] into the sea, and in their passages are taken in pots. In September they runne out of the sea into the fresh streames, to bed themselues in the ground all winter, and are taken againe in pots as they returne homewards. In winter the inhabitants digge them up, being bedded in gravell not aboue two or three foote deepe, and all the rest of the yeare they may take them in pots in the salt water of the bay. They are passing sweete, fat, and wholesome, haueing no taste at all of the mudde, and are as greate as ever I saw anie. In Aprill & May come up another kinde of fish which they call herring, or old wiues, in infinite skulls [= schools] into a small river runing under the towne, and soe into a greate pond or lake of a mile broad where they cast their spawne, the water of the sayd river beeing in manie places not aboue halfe a foote deepe. Yea, when a heape of stones is reared up against them a foote high aboue the water, they leape and tumble over and will not be beaten backe with cudgels, . . . The inhabitants during

during the sayd two moneths take them up everie day in hogse-heads, and with those they eate not they manure the ground, burying 2 or 3 in each hill of corne, and may, when they are able, if they see cause, lade whole ships with them. At their going up they are very fat and savory, but at their comming downe, after they haue cast their spawnes, they are shotte, and therefore leane and unwholsome.

'Into another river some two miles to the north-east of Plymmouth all the moneth of May the greate smelts passe up to spawne likewise in troupes innumerable, which with a scoupe, or a boule, or a peece of barke, a man may cast up upon the banke. About mid-way come into the harbour the manie skull [=school] off [=of] basse and blew fish, which they take with skaines [=seines?], — some fishes of a foote and a halfe, some of two foote, and some of 3 foote long, and with hookes those of 4 and 5 foote long. They enter also at flowing water [=flood tide] up into the small creeks, at the mouths whereof the inhabitants, spreading their nets, haue caught 500 and 700 at a time. . . . Now as concerning the blew fish, in delicacie it excelleth all kinde of fish that ever I tasted, I except not the salmon of the Thames in his prime season, nor anie other fish. We called it by a compound name of blacke, white, blew, sweete, fat, — the skinne and skale blew; the flesh next under the scale for an inch deepe blacke, and as sweete as the marrow of an oxe; the residue of the flesh underneath purelie white, fat, and of a taste requireing noe addition of sauce. By which allureing qualities it may seeme dangerouslie tending to a sarfeit, but we found by experience that haueing satisfied and in a manner glutted ourselfes therewith, it proved wholesome unto us and most easie of digestion. . . . Oysters there are none, but at Masachusett some 20 miles to the north of this place there are such huge ones by salvages report, as I am loth to report. For ordinarie ones of which there be manie, they make to be as broad as a bushell, but one among the rest they compared to the

the greate cabbin in the Discoverie, and being sober and well advised persons, grew verie angrie when they were laughed at or not beleeved! I would haue had Captaine Jones to haue tried out the truth of this report, and what was the reason? If, said I, the oysters be soe greate and haue anie pearles in them, then must the pearles be answerable in greatnes to the oysters, and proving round and orient also, would farre exceed all other jewells in the world! Yea, what strange and pretious things might be found in so rare a creature! But Captaine Jones his imploying his pinnace in discoverie, his graueing of the ship, his hast away about other occasions and busines, would not permit him to doe that which often since he wished he could haue done. . . .

'The reasons of their [the Plymouth colonists'] continuall plentie for those 7 moneths in the yeare may be the ' continuall tranquillitie of the place, being guarded on all sides from the furie of the stormes, as also the abundance of food they finde at low water, the bottome of the bay then appearing as a greene meadow, and lastlie the number of frishets [=brooks] runing into the bay, where . . . they may refresh and quench their thirst. And therefore this bay is such a pond for fowle, as in any mans knowledge of our nation that hath seene it, all America hath not the like. . . .

'So much of [=for] the wholsomnes and plentie of the countrie. Now as concerning the qualitie of the people, how happie were it for our people in the Southern Colonie [=Virginia], if they were as free from wickednes and vice as these are in this place! And their industrie as well appeareth by their building, as by a substantiall pallisado about their [? settlement] of 2700 foote in compasse, stronger then I haue seene anie in Virginia, and lastlie by a blockhouse which they haue erected in the highest place of the towne to mount their ordinance upon, from whence they may commaund all the harbour. As touching their correspondencie with the Indians, they are freinds with all their neighbours,

neighbours, as namelie with those of Conahassit [=Cohasset] and Massachusit to the north, with the greate king of Pakanakie to the south-west, with those of Pawmet, Nausit, Capawacke and others to the east and south. . . .'

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Norwood's great map was first offered to the public complete in 1626, when evidently it could be obtained in London on separate sheets (probably without any letter-press on the back) from 'George Humble in Pops-head Alley against the Exchainge.' It did not, however, bear Norwood's name, since, though separately engraved by Goos at Amsterdam, it may even in 1626 have been intended later to form an integral part of John Speed's *Prospect of the most famovs Parts of the VVorld*, published by Humble in 1631. Most of the maps in the volume bear the date 1626. Here, at any rate, on the leaves including pages 41–44 (sigs. x–x2), appeared Norwood's map together with the anonymous complete text of the *Detectio* prefaced by two new paragraphs, also anonymous, manifestly by Norwood. Even the four notes of the original manuscript and the drawing of the prickly pear are faithfully reproduced, though various minor alterations have been made. Thus Norwood's early work was perpetuated, although when the book was subsequently brought out by Basset and Chiswel in 1676, the date 1626 on the map was omitted, Norwood's text was abbreviated, and the illustration removed. Perfect copies of the first edition of Speed's *Prospect* are now comparatively scarce, and Major General Lefroy wisely reproduced the map in 1874, and in 1877 published it at the close of the first volume of his *Memorials of the Discovery and Early Settlement of the Bermudas*. He recognized the map as Norwood's, but does not seem to have identified as his the descriptive text which appears on the back in Speed, if indeed he ever saw it. To-day, after the lapse of two and a half centuries, we bring together a reproduction of Norwood's map and the original text of his narrative.

# THE DISCOVERY OF THE BERMUDA ISLANDS

# Insularum de la Bermuda Detectio

[ I ]

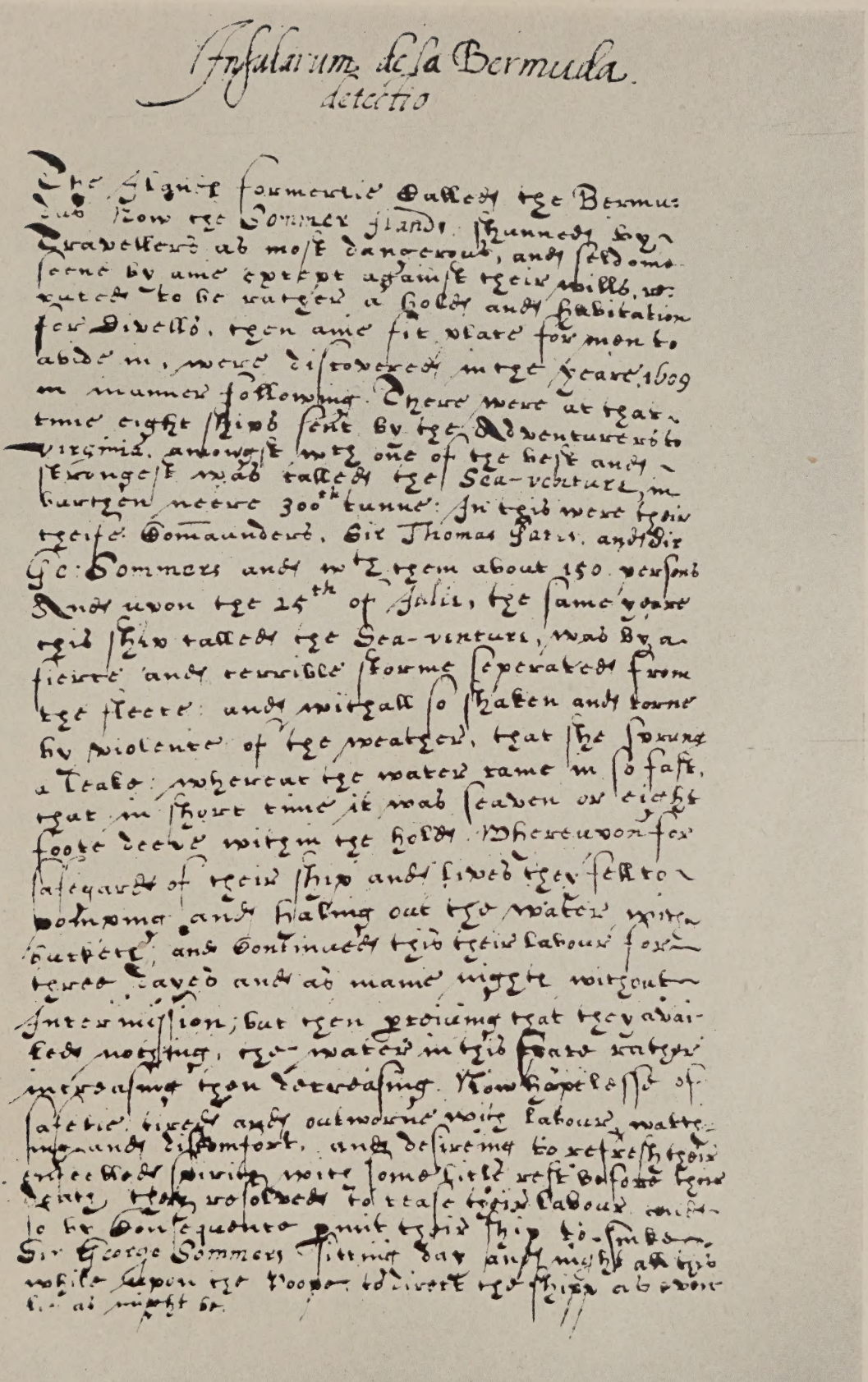
[2] Insularum de la Bermuda Detectio.[1]

THE Ilandes formerlie called the Bermudas, now the Sommer Ilands, shunned by travellers as most dangerous, and seldome seene by anie except against their wills, reputed to be rather a hold and habitation for divells, then anie fit place for men to abide in, were discovered in the yeare, 1609, in manner following. There were at that time eight ships sent by the Adventurers to Virginia, amongst which one of the best and strongest was called the Sea-venture, in burthen neere 300th tunne. In this were their cheife Commaunders, Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Sommers, and with them about 150 persons. And upon the 25th of Julie, the same yeare, this ship called the Sea-venture, was by a fierce and terrible storme seperated from the fleete, and withall so shaken and torne by violence of the weather, that she sprung a leake, whereat the water came in so fast, that in short time it was seaven or eight foote deepe within the hold. Whereupon, for safegard of their ship and lives, they fell to pomping and haling out

out the water with bucketes, and continued this their labour for three dayes and as manie nightes without intermission, but then perceiuing that they availed nothing, the water in this space rather increasing then decreasing. Now hopelesse of safetie, tired, and outworne with labour, watching, and discomfort, and desireing to refresh their enfeebled spirites with some litle rest before their death, they resolved to cease their labour and so by conseqence permit their ship to sinke, Sir George Sommers, sitting day and night all this while upon the poope to direct the shipp as evenlie as might be, [3] least shee should be overturned or swallowed of the waves, espied land, and thereupon called the companie together, and encouraged them againe to pomping, and casting out water, by which meanes they kept her up from sinking, and by Godes providence escaped the rockes, till they got within halfe a mile of the shoare, where she stucke fast betweene two rockes. The extremitie of the storme being then well qualified [=spent], they had time to land all their men, most parte of their provision, and to saue much of the ships tackling and yron-worke before she sanke, and thus[1] it pleased God by this evill to bring to passe a far greater good, agreeable to that saying,

Quæ latet, inque bonis cessat non cognita rebus
Apparet virtus, arguiturque malis.

Haueing thus escaped the imminent daunger of present death, and all safelie arrived, we may well conceiue their



Insularum de la Bermuda
detectio

The Iland formerlie called the Bermudas now the Sommer Ilands shunned by Travellers ab most dangerous, and seldome seene by ame except against their willes, reputed to be rather a Hell, then habitation for Divells, then ame fit place for men to abide in, were discovered in the Yeare 1609 in manner following. There were at that time eight Ships sent by the Adventurers to Virginia, amongst the one of the best and strongest was called the Sea-venture, in burthen neere 300th tunne: In this were their cheife Comaunders, Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir Ge: Sommers and with them about 150. persons And upon the 25th of July, the same yeare this Ship called the Sea-venture, was by a fierce and terrible Storme seperated from the fleete: and with all so shaken and torne by violence of the weather, that she sprung a leake: whereat the water came in so fast, that in short time it was seaven or eight foote deepe within the hold. Whereupon for safegard of their ship and lives they fell to pumpes and bailing out the water with buckets, and continued this their labour foure teene dayes and ab mane night without intermission; but then growing that they availed nothing, the water in this sorte rather increasing then decreasing. Now hopelesse of safetie, tired and outworne with labour, watching and discomfort, and desireing to refresh their wearied bodies, whilst some little rest before their deaths, they resolved to cease their labour, and so by Consequence omit their ship to sinke. Sir George Sommers perceiving that all might ab while labour the worse, to divert the ship ab ever he ab might be.

FIRST PAGE OF NORWOOD'S
"DISCOVERY OF THE BERMUDA ISLANDS"

their joy to haue beene greate, especiallie when they found there in greate abundance, fish, fowle, hogs, and other thinges for the sustenance of man, and which they most of all feared [they might not find], water, but noe people, or anie cattell, except those hoges and a few wilde cats, which in likelyhood had swume away out of some ship cast away upon the coast, and there encreased. They abode there nine monthes, during which time, with helpe of such thinges as they saued of the Sea-venture, and of such as they found in the countrie, they built of cedar and rigged fit for the sea, two vessels, [4] a ship and a pinnance, and upon the 10 of May, 1610, departed toward Virginia, leaving onlie two men behinde them, and carrying with them store of provision for the releife of the people there. Vpon the 24 of May they arrived safelie there, and shortlie after some of them returned to the Sommer Ilands againe for a further supplie in the same ship which they had formerlie built there, where Sir George Sommers dying his men did not according to his last charge given unto them returne to Virginia, but framed their course for England, leaving behind them three men that stayed voluntarilie, who shortlie after found in Sommerset Iland, which is parte of Sandys Tribe, a verie greate treasure in amber-greece, to the valew of nine or tenne thousand pound sterling. There hath also beene found since, diuerse times, of the best sort. This new discoverie of the Sommer Iland[s], being thus made knowne in England,

to

to the Virginian Companie by these men which returned, they sold it to some 120 persons of the same countrie, who obtained a Charter from his Majestie, and so hold it, and toward the latter end of Aprill, 1612, sent thither a ship called the Plough, with some sixtie persons to inhabite, appointing governour, one Mr Richard Moore, a man ingenious and carefull, who since died in Sir Walter Rawleyes last voyage to Guiana (a place, as appeares by our moderne Geographers, verie rich and spatious).

[5] But as I say he arrived there about the begining of July, and found the three foresaid men that stayed voluntarilie verie well. M. Moore spent the three years of his gouerment for the most part in fortifying the countrey and trayning the people in martiall exercises, which custome hath beene continued by his successours. He built some nine or tenne forts, placing ordnance and munition in them. In his time the Lord sent vpon the countrey a very greiuous scourge [1] and punishment, threat[n]ing the vtter ruine and desolation of it. That it came from God I neede not striue to proue, especially considering it was generally soe acknowledged by vs at that time. The causes and occasions I need not name, being very well knowne to vs all that liued there, which were about 600 persons, though shortly after much deminished. I will only shew the thing it selfe which was a wonderfull annoyance by silly ratts.

These

These ratts coming at first out of a ship few in number increased in the space of two years or lesse so exceedingly, that they filled not only those places where they were first landed, but swiming from place to place spread themselues into all parts of the countrey, insomuch that there was noe Iland, though seuered by the sea from all other lands and many miles distant from the iles where the ratts had their originall, but was pestered with them. They had theire nests almost in euery tree, and in all places their burrows in the grownd (like connies) to harbour in. They spared not the fruites of plants or trees, neither the plants themselues, but eat [=ate] them vp. When we had sett our corne, they would commonly come by troupes the night following, or soe soone as it beganne to grow, and digge it vp againe. If by diligent watching any of it were preserued till it came to earing, it should then very hardly escape. Yea, it was a difficult matter after we had it in our houses to [6] saue it from them, for they became noysome euen to the persons of men. We vsed all diligence for the destroying of them, nourishing many cats, wild and tame, for that purpose. We vsed ratsbane, and many times sett fyer on the woods, so as the fire might runne halfe a mile or more before it were extinct. Euery man in the country was enioyned to sett twelue traps, and some of their owne accord sett neere a hundreth, which they visited twice or thrice in a night. We trayned vp our dogges to hunt them, wherein they grew so expert that

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a good dogge in two or three howers space would kill fortie or fiftie ratts, and other meanes we vsed to destroy them, but could not preuaile, finding them still to encrease against vs.

And this was the principall cause of that great distresse whervnto we was driuen in the first planting of the countrye, for these deuouring the fruites of the earth kept vs destitute of bread a yeare or two, soe that when we had it afterwards againe, we were so weaned from it, that we should easily forgett to eat it with our meate. We were also destitute at that time of boates and other prouision for fishing, and moreouer M[r] Moore had receiued warning from England that he should expect the Spaniard that yeare, yett they came not but with two ships, which attempting to come in, and haueing there boate before them to sound the way, were shot at by the said M[r] Moore from Kings Castle, and as we supposed one of them stricken through, wherevpon they presently departed. But (as I say) this expectation of them caused vs (though in great necessitie) to hasten the fortification of the countrye. All these ioyntly (but principally the ratts) were the causes of our distresse: for being destitute of foode many dyed, and we [1] all became very f[ee]ble and weake, wherof some being so would not, others could not, stirre abroad to seeke releife, but dyed in their houses: such as went abroad were subiect through weaknes to be [7] surprised with a disease we called the Feages, which was neither payne or sicknes,

sicknes, but as it were the highest degree of weaknes, depriueing vs of power and abilitye for execution of any bodely exercise, whether it were working, walking, or what els. Being thus taken, if there were any in company that could minister any releife, they would straygh=wayes recouer, other=ways they dyed there: yett many after a little rest would be able to walke againe, and then if they found any succour were saued.

About this time, or immediatly before, came thither a company of rauens, which continued with vs all the time of this mortality, and then departed. There were not before that time, nor since (so farr as I heare), any more of them seene there. And this with some other reasons of more moment moued many to thinke that there was some other Ilands nere the Sommer=Ilands betweene Virginia and it. And M^r^ Moore (in his time with some others of vs) went forth in a boate so farr as then we could conueniently of purpose to discouer it. Since then it hath beene endeuoured by others, and is yet as [I] heare to be further attempted, and howsoeuer I am perswaded (for certaine causes, which I cannot here relate) ther is no such thing, yet would I not disanimate any from this enterprise, for if they find any, there labours wil be wel recompenced, and though they find none, yet they discouer those parts so well, that the passage to and from Virginia would be more safe and easie.

But to returne from whence we haue digressed, the extremitye of our destresse began to abate a litle before

M^r^

Mr Moores time of gouerment was expired, partly by supplies out of England of victuall and prouision for fishing, and partly by that rest and libertye we then obtained, the country being fortifyed, yet the ratts encreased and continnued allmost to the end of Captaine Tuckers time, allthough he was prouident and industrious to destroy them, but toward the end of his [8] time it pleased God (by what meanes it is not well knowne) to take them away, insomuch that the wild catts and many doggs which liued on them were famished, and many of them, leaueing the woods came downe to houses and to such places where they vse to garbish theire fish, and became tame. Some haue attributed this destruction of them to the encrease of wild catts, but that [=it] is not likly they should be so soone encreased at that time more then in the foure yeares before. And the cheife occasion of this supposition was because they saw such companies of them leaue the woods and shew themselues for want of foode. Others haue supposed it to come to passe by the coldnesse of the weather, which notwithstanding is neuer so great there as with vs in March, nor scarce as [great as] it is in Aprill, except it be in the wind. Besides the rattes wanted not feathers of yong birds and chickens, which they dayly killed, and of palmeto mosse (as we call it) to build themselues warme nests out of the winde, as vsually they did. Neither doth it appeare that colde was so mortal to them, seeing they would ordinarily swim from place to place and be very

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fatt euen in the midst of winter. It remaineth then that as we know God doth sometimes effect his will without subordinate and secondary causes, and some times against them, so we neede not doubt but that in the speedy encrease of these vermines, as alsoe by the preseruation of vs by so weake means as we then enioyed, and especially in the sudden remoueall of this great annoyance, there was ioyned with and besides the ordinarie and manifest means, a more immediate and secret worke of God.

Now to proceed, M^r^ Moores time of gouerment being expired, Captaine Tucker succeeded [blank space],[1] ariueing there about mid=May, 1616, who likewayse gouerned (according to the custome) three years, which time he spent for the most part in husbandring the countrie, planting, and nourishing all such things as was found fitt either for trade or for the sustentation and vse of the inhabitants, wherin he trauailed [?] with much diligence and good successe, sending [to] some parts of the Indies for [9] plants and fruits. He also added to the fortifications and made some inclosures in his time, viz., in the yeare 1617 was sent a ship and prouision with men of skill for the killing of whales, but they arriued there too late, to witt, about the midst of Aprill, so that before they could make ready their shallops and fitt themselues, the principall season for whale=fishing was past, for the whales come thither in Januarie, and depart againe toward the latter end of May.

May. Yett they strooke some, but found them soe liuely, swift, and feirce after they were stricken, that they could take none. They yeeld great store of oyle as appeared by one that draue to shoare on Sommerset Iland in Sandys tribe, and by another that we found not far from theare dead vpon a rocke.

I[1] alsoe receiued by Captaine Tucker directions from the Aduenturers to deuide the country, and to assigne to each Aduenturer his shares or portion of land, and withall [to prepare] a description[2] with notes touching the manner how they would haue it done as they had formerly determined by lot, which thing I did with all faithfullnes and diligence. The manner of it doth aboue appeare, and is more largely manifested in a booke of the Suruey of the country exhibited to the right honorable his Majesties Counsell and the Court of Aduenturers for those parts. And then began this, which was before, as it were, an vnsetled and confused chaos (I meane as touching a plantation, for considered onely as a regiment it was otherwise) to receiue a convenient disposition, forme, & order, & to become indeed a plantation; for though the countrie was small, yet they could not haue beene convenientlie disposed & well setled without a true description & suruey of it. And againe everie man being setled where he might constantlie abide, they knew their busines & fitted their houshold accordinglie. They built for themselues and families not tents or cabbins, but more substantiall houses. They cleared

cleared their grounds & planted not onlie such things as would yeeld them their fruites in a yeare, or halfe a yeare, but all such too as would afford them profitt after certaine yeares, &c., so that in short time after, even before the expiration of Captaine Tuckers goverment, [10] the countrie began to aspire & neerelie to approach unto that happines and prosperitie wherein now it flourisheth. For may it not justlie be accounted happines & prosperitie, for men to liue where they enjoy the meanes of true religion and salvation, to wit, the syncere ministerie of the Word and Sacramentes, where the government is good without rigour and oppression, the place healthfull and temperate, where they are freed from all extremitie, care, and toyle, where they haue food in abundance, and verie good, with other things needfull to the bodies, and where they haue commodities meete for trade, by which they may better and advance their estats? All which and more is verified in the present estate of that colonie, whatsoever some maliciously minded, or to some evill ends suborned, may say to the contrarie, so that there may seeme to be a restauration of that Golden Age so much spoken of.

The governour now there resident is one Captaine Butler, for Captaine Tucker departing thence in December, 1618[?], left in his place, Captaine Kendall, who also was one that supplied the same place in the interim betweene M^r: Moores time and Captaine Tuckers, and hath spent some nine or tenne yeares in the countrie.

countrie. But in the yeare, 1619, about midsommer, the Adventurers sent thither as governour for three yeares (according to the custome) the said Captaine Butler with 4 ships and some five hundred persons, there beeing at that time in the countrie onlie five hundred moe, for by the space of foure yeares, to wit, during the latter part of Moores goverment, and all the time of Captaine Tuckers they had sent few thither, being almost hopelesse of the place by reason of the rates [=rats]. But since, there have beene sent manie companies more then have come to my knowledge, insomuch that I understand the countrie is now almost fullie planted and inhabited.

Thus have I breiflie related (so far forth as hath come to my knowledge and remembrance) everie thing of most note and importance that hath befallen in the first discoverie and planting of these Ilands until this present. I have laboured to contract my selfe, yet haue exceeded my entended limites. Now I must speake something of the countrie it selfe, which consisteth of a companie of small Ilands situated and formed as aboue appeareth. It lieth in the westerne ocean, in that part of the world latelie discovered and called America or the New World, vulgarlie the West Indies. It hath latitude or elevation (as is aforesayd) 32 degrees, 25 minutes, which is almost the same with the Maderaes, or rather more southward.

[11] Now the better to manifest the situation of it, I haue reduced the whole into a narrow roome, placing it,

it, as aboue appeareth, at the center or middle of the flie[1] or compasse, and withall haue made an appearance of the sea-coast of Virginia, as also of sundrie other places of note adjacent thereto, acording to their true position and distance from it, as neere as I could gather; so that the compasse sheweth how anie of those places beare from the Sommer-Ilands: and if yow measure by the partes of the graduated meridian from the middle of the compasse to anie of those places, yow haue their distance, for everie degree is twentie leagues or sixtie miles.[2]

The countrie is roundabout environed[3] with rocks which to the northward, west-ward, and south-west-ward, extend farther then hath beene yet discovered. By reason of these rocks the countrie is verie strong, for there is onlie two places (and scarce two except to such as know them well) where shipping may safely come in, and those places are verie well fortified, but within is roome to entertaine a royall fleete. The rockes in most places appear at a low water, neither are they much covered at a high water, for it ebbs and flowes there not aboue five foote. The shoare it selfe (for the most parte) is a rocke so hardened by the sune, winde, and sea, that it is not apt to be worne by the waves, whose violence is also broken by the rocks before they come at the shoare. The mould is of divers colours neither clay nor sand, but a meane betweene. The red which resembleth clay is worst, the whitish resembling sand and blackish clay is good. The browne betweene them both (which they call

call white, because there is mingled with it, as it were, a white marle) is best. Vnder the mould two or three foot deepe and somtimes lesse, is a kinde of white, hard substance, which they call the rocke. The trees usuallie fasten their rootes in it, and draw their nourishment from it. Neither is it indeed rocke or stone, nor so hard, though for the most parte harder then chalke, not soe white, but pumicelike and spongie, easilie receiving and containing much water. I haue seene in some places clay found under it. It seemes to be ingendred of the raine water draining through the earth, and drawing with it of his substance unto a certaine depth, where it congeales. The hardest kinde of it (which is commonlie under the red ground) is not so spungie nor retaines much water, but lieth in the ground in quarries, as it were thicke slates one upon an other, and there is some chinks betweene one lare [= layer?] and another through which the water hath passage, so that in such places there is scarce found anie fresh water, for all or the most parte of their fresh water commeth out of the sea, drayning through the sand or through the fore-sayd substance which they call the rocke, and leaving his salt behinde, it becomes fresh. Sometimes we digged wells of fresh water within foure or five paces of the sea-side, somtimes further off. Some of them would ebb and flow as the sea did, and be level or litle higher then the superficies of the sea.

The aire is most commonlie cleare, verie temperate, moist,

moist, with a moderate heat, verie healthfull, and apt for the generation and nourishing of all things, soe that there is scarce anie thing transported from hence thither, but it yeelds a far greater encrease, and if it be a living thing, becomes fatter and better liking then here.

[12] By this meanes the countrie was so replenished with henns and turkies within the space of three or foure yeares, that being neglected manie of them forsooke the houses, and became wilde, and so lived in greate aboundance. The like increase there is of hogs and other cattle according to their kinds. There seemes to be a continuall spring, which is the cause that some few things come not to that maturitie and perfection as were requisite. And though the trees do shed their leaves, yet are they alwayes full of greene. Their corne is the same which they use almost in all partes of the West Indies, to wit, maiz, which to such as are used to it is more heartie and nourishing then our English wheate, and yeilds a far greater increase, as a pound sometimes, of one or two graines. Of this corne and divers other things, without either plowing or digging the ground, they haue two harvestes everie yeare, for they set about March, which they gather in July; and againe in August, which is ripe in December; and litle slips of figg-trees, and vines, doe usually beare fruite within lesse then a yeare after they are planted, somtimes in halfe a yeare. The like fertillitie it hath in other thinges.

There is scarce at anie time to be perceiued either frost

frost or snow, nor anie extreame heate, for there is almost alwayes some winde stirring which cleareth and cooleth the ayre. Their sommers and winters observe the same time with ours, but their longest dayes are shorter then ours in England by two houres and almost a halfe, as also their shortest dayes and nightes are so much longer then ours, for their longest dayes and nights are about fourteene houres, and their[1] shortest tenne. When it is noone with us it is morning with them, and when it is about five of the clocke in the evening with us, it is high noone with them, so that whilst the sunne declines with us, it riseth with them, as also it doth in Virginia. It is apt to thunder and lightning all the yeare, oft-times more terrible then in England, but no man or other living creature haue I knowne hurt by it. There is no venemous creature in the countrie. The yellow spider which is there, making her web as it were of silke, and bringing forth her young (as the Alcumists their stone) of eggs, like litle balls of quicke silver, is not perceived to be anie whit venemous, yet there is a plant (that clymeth trees like ivie, the leafe also of the same colour, but in shape like the vine) that is somewhat venemous, but of no greate force.

There is great store and varietie of fish, and so good as these partes of the world afford not the like, which being for the most parte unknowne to us, each man gave them names as they best liked, as one kind they called rock-fish, another groopers, others porgy-fish, hog-fish, angel-fish,

angel-fish, cavaleys, yellow-tayles, Spanish-mackerell, mulletes, breame, cunny-fish, morrayes, stingrayes, flying[1]-fish, &c. The like they did by the fowle, as cohooes, sand-birds, herones, ducke, & teale, [13] pemlicoes[?], castle-boobies, hawkes, &c. The countrie when we first began the plantation was all overgrowne with woodes and plants of severall kinds, and to such kindes as were unknowne to us (which were the most parte) we also gave names, such as were knowne retaining their old names, as cedars, palmetoes, black-wood, whitewood, yellow-wood, mulberrie-trees, stopper-trees, laurell, and olive-trees, mangrowes, pepper-trees, yellow-berrieweed, redweed. These and manie others we found naturallie growing in the countrie. But since it hath beene inhabited there hath beene brought thither, as well from the Indies as other parts of the world, sundrie other plants, as vines of severall kindes, sugar-canes, figg-trees, apple-trees, oranges, lymons, pomegranets, plantanes, pines, parsnips, radishes, artichokes, potatoes, Cassado-Indico, and manie others, insomuch that it is now become as it were some specious garden and nurcerie of manie pleasant and profitable things.

Now if I should proceed to a more speciall narration, and speak of all these plants, birds, fishes, and other remarkable things particularly, I could not but be much larger then was anie way expedient in this place. Besides I haue long since understood, that Captaine Butler (the gouernour there resident) hath undertaken to write of

of these & the like things a particular treatise.[1] This therefore that is spoken touching the nature of the countrie in generall shall suffice. Onlie to giue the reader some taste and satisfaction in that kinde, I will make choise of two particulars, whereof I will speake, not so largelie as the things require, but so far forth as will be meete and convenient in this place. The first shalbe a tortoys, which they call a turckle, which haueing some resemblance with fishes, beasts, and fowles, shall serue in stead of a historie of them all. The other shall be that which they call the pricled peare-tree, which participateing in nature, and resembling in some things hearbs, in other, trees, shall likewise serue in stead of the naturall historie of them both. And first of the turkle, not regarding (for brevities sake) the large discourses of others, I will onlie write what I haue seene and knowne my selfe. They are in the shape of their bodie like a crab-fish, and haue foure finnes; they are as greate as three or foure men can carrie. The upper parte of them is covered with a greate shell, which we call a galley patch, weighing (as I take it) halfe a hundred weight. The flesh that cleaveth to the inside of this, being roasted against the fire is excellent meate, almost like the marrow of beefe, but the shell it selfe harder then horne. She hath also a shell on her bellie, not so hard, but being boyled it becommeth soft like the sinewes or gristle of beefe, and good meate. These liue in the sea spending the spring time and parte of the summer about these

Ilands,

Ilands, but the residue of the yeare we know not where. They are like to fowle in respect of the smalnes and fashion of their heads and necks, which are wrinckled like a turkies, but white and not so sharpe billed. They also breed their young of eggs which they lay.

[14] They resemble beasts in that their flesh is like veale, but mor[e] hard and sollid; and they feed alwaies upon grasse growing at the bottome of the water, neither can they abide longer under the water then they hold their breath, which the old ones will do long, but the young ones being chased to and fro, cannot continue two minutes without comming to take breath. Shortlie after their first comming in, the male and female couple, which we call cooting. This they continue some three dayes together, during which time they will scarce seperate, though a boate come to them, nor hardlie when they are smitten. Not long after the shee turckle comes up by night upon some sandie bay, and further up then the water useth to flow she diggeth a hole in the sand with her finne some two foote deepe, and there comming up seuerall nights layes her eggs, some halfe a bushell (which are about the bignes of a hens egge and round as a ball), and each time covers them with sand verie curiouslie, so that a man shall hardlie finde the place. These eggs (as it seemes) are afterwards hatched by the heate of the sunne, and then by the providence of God (the meanes yet unknowne to us) are brought out of the earth, for we could never perceive that shee returnes

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anie more to them, and yet in likelihood they remaine not long under the earth after they are hatched, because (as I haue before said[)] they cannot liue without breathing. We sometimes see the young ones noe bigger then a mans hand, which some fish will devoure. They grow slowlie & seeme to haue a verie long life, they-le [= they 'll] sleepe on the top of the water, and were wont to sleepe often on the land before the countrie was peopled; they will also live out of the water some three weekes, but that without meate, and mourne and pine away; they are very wittie. Being upon the land turned upon their backes, they can noe more helpe or recover themselues without some advantage, by which meanes when they come on shoare to lay their eggs they are easilie taken, as also when they are cooting. But otherwayes we take them for the most parte by night, making a greate light in a boate, to which they will sometimes swime and seldome shun, so that a man standing readie with a staffe in his hand which hath at one end a socket, wherein is an yron lesse than a mans finger, foure-square and sharpe, with a line fastned to it, he striking this yron into the upper shell of the turckle, it sticks so fast, that after shee hath a litle tyred her selfe by swimming to and fro, she is taken by it. They will liue, the head being cut of [= off], foure and twentie houres, soe that if yow cut the flesh with a knife or touch it, it will tremble and shrinke away. There is no meate will keepe longer, either fresh or salt.

[15] But

[15] But leaving these we will now come to speake of the prickled peares, which are a fruite growing in these Ilands in such places as are [not] fit for anie thing else, namelie, upon rocks, and cliffs, and commonlie by the sea-side, as if the salt water did something helpe to the generation and nourishing of them. The tree seemes to grow certaine years before it beares fruite, and then to continue bearing verie manie yeares, haueing almost all the yeare long fruite upon it. And though we call this a tree, yet hath it scarce anie bodie or branches, but consisteth in a manner wholie of leaues and fruite, soft and brittle. But because there is a verie learned writer hath made a description (as it may seeme) of this plant, wherein he hath also given some light of that profit and commoditie which may arise of it, I haue thought good to translate the same into English, and here to insert it, which is as followeth:

Cardanus: De Varietate Rerum.

The purple or scarlet die hath alwaies beene of greatest value, and it is two-fold, to wit, of wooll, which in times past was thus coloured with the juice of a [a]fish whereof we haue spoken where we treated of fishes. Of late it hathe beene dyed with [b]Coccus, whereof we haue also spoken in his place. But silke as we haue said

*a*. There is in the Summer Ilands (as I haue seene to the westward of Port-Royall) such a kinde of fish yeelding a purple juice, but I do not so well remember it as to set downe certainlie whether it be the purple fish he heere speaketh of.

*b*. This seemeth to be of a kinde of palme, but much different from the palmetoes that are in the Sommer Ilands.

was

was dyed with certaine knotes of [c]Bibenella, though now for the most parte with the graine comming of the [d]Indian figge. Hereof we made mention where we spake of aloes, as also where we spake of silke dyes. It will not be amisse now to gather them both into one. The Indian figge is so called because in respect of the forme of the fruite, and the greatenes of his leaues it resembleth a figg, but I will describe it more accuratelie, for when I was at Genoway [= Genoa?], I saw it at a physitians house, where also I first saw the Indian Balme.

This Indian figg is called by them of Mexico, where there is greate store of them, Nuchtlie, and the tree it selfe Nopal, but the Indians of Hispaniola call both the tree and the fruite Tuna. Some also do account that which they call Pythaya to be of the same kinde, because in these two things they agree, namelie, in that they haue both a verie bright red colour, staining the hands and colouring the urine, [so] that it seemes to be blood. They both also haue red graines within as a figg, and both grow on prickled plants, but they differ in that the fruite which they call Pithaya is not crowned, as the other which they call Tuna is, but in forme resembleth a quince, being of a bloud red colour, and a verie hard rinde. The plant therefore that beareth the foresaid fruite called Tuna, or Nuchtlie, hath his leaues a foote

*c.* He meanes not cutchenell, which is a flie brought from the Indies withowt heads, but litle wormes breeding on the rootes of a plant called Bibenella.

*d.* This is that we call the prickled-peare.

long

NORWOOD'S DRAWING
OF THE PRICKLY PEAR

long and halfe a foote broad, and neare an inch thicke, verie greene and full of long stiffe prickles almost of an ash colour.

[16] The best fruite are those which are white, the next those which are yellow, in the next place those which are of changeable colour. The last and worst sort are those which are greene, and anie of these sorts are usuallie eaten without feare. There are onlie of these two last sorts in the Sommer-Ilands.

The fruite it selfe is verie like a figge (whilst the figgs are on the trees), as well in respect of the limmernes[1] and softnes of the rinde, as also in forme and shape, saue that it is something longer, and hath as it were a crowne on the top like medlars. The leaues grow one out of another without anie staulke, and out of the sides of [the] leaues growes the fruite without stalkes also, and without such thornes as are on the leaues. Some tast like peares, some like grapes, and haue within them those grapes (which as I haue said) they use for the dying of silkes. This fruite doth coole, as doth the juice of its leaues, which they use for water. The leaues therefore (as it is euident) are likened unto figg-tree leaues onlie in respect of their greatnes. The fruite it selfe is likened to a fig in respect of the thicknes and softnes of the rinde, and because of the graines within it, and hence it hath beene fitlie called the Indian-figge. Now whether silke be dyed of these graines alone, or that some other things be used with them, it importes not much, seing we intend

tend not so much to teach the adjuncts of this or that particular, which are subject to alteration and change, but rather the things themselues, according to their causes and reasons which are unchangeable, for all things by the tract of time, and manie things by the diversitie of countries, are altered, yet the reason still remaines. As if anie thing else should retaine this bright red colour, and be also in substance somewhat subtill and condensate. Then haueing strength and efficacie it shalbe fit for the dying of silke or wooll. But if this plant could be produced here, it would proue a thing of marveilous profit, for they die with this drugge not onlie silke alone, but likewise wooll, calling it a crimson or scarlett die.

This description of the Indian figge, called, as it seemes, by the Indians in some place Tuna, in others Nuchtlie, exactlie agreeth with that fruite which in the Sommer-Ilands we call the prickled-peare, neither is there anie such difference as can make them appeare to be of diuers kindes. I haue heard that the like fruite is also growing in Virginia. I haue seene of the leaues of this tree beeing full of greate prickles hanged round about the walls of a storehouse to preserue the corne that was therein from rats, which after a moneth or two dropping downe haue againe produced other trees by the wall side. The leaues are full of juice, cleare and clammie, as the whites of eggs.

[17] Now touching the dying of silke or scarlet with this fruite, I haue knowen no triall to be made, but this light

light being given, I doubt not but some will excercise their skill that way. Two things are herein requisyte, first that it haue its perfect maturitie and ripenes, and then that it be used in such manner and with such materials as are convenient, whether arsnick, allome, tartar alias argoll, the scume of sope, the water of brann, or what else, and yet perhaps the diversitie of regions may make all frustrate, for I haue found by experience, setting the seedes here in England, the plant to degenerate so much that it could scarce be knowne from a thistle. Much more might be spoken hereof, which I let passe that I may draw to an end.

Now because (as I haue before sayd) these Ilands may seeme, as well in the strange manner of their discoverie, as in respect of their strength and scituation, to be ordained and reserved by the providence of God not so much for themselues (being small), as for the more easie and commodious planting of other parts of this New World, and especiallie of Virginia, and because by the wisdome and discretion of his Majesties Counsell for that place, it hath beene latelie ordered and foreseene, that the Sommer-Ilands might haue some necessarie cohærence, and as it were dependance, upon Virginia (so that looke how much land anie man doth properlie possesse in Sommer Ilands he hath at least foure times so much in Virginia), the care also and oversight of them both being committed to the right honourable the Earle of Southampton [(] whose honourable affections and

endeavours

endeavours as they haue everie way appeared for the good of this Common-wealth, so particularlie in the government of these affaires, insomuch that they are on a sudden growne to thrice so much strength and prosperitie as formerlie they had), I say for these causes haueing my selfe spent certaine years in the one place, and being conuersant sometimes with such as haue liued in the other, I thinke it fitting to expresse my opinion trulie as I am perswaded of these plantations, and so explaining it by three or foure arguments to conclude. I say therefore the countries being free to be possessed, affording things meete for houshold provision and trade, and being also healthfull and agreeable to the constitutions of our countrimen, all which of the one I know and can affirme, and doe understand no lesse of the other. The planting of them (besides the benefit of the Adventurers) must needs adde much to the strength, prosperitie, and glorie of this kingdome, [18] would prooue a singular benefit to the natiue inhabitants of Virginia, and also to such our countrimen as should goe over, and in all tend to the glorie of God. For first, touching such as goe ouer, it is not unknowne that amongst other things wherein God hath prospered our nation, this is one, that he hath caused us to multiplie and increase exceedinglie, insomuch that his blessing pronounced touching the Jewes, that their children should say, Esay. 49. 20, *The place is straight for me, giue me place that I may dwell*, may seeme after a sort to be verified and accomplished in us at this day,

day, so that though manie thousands were aspared, the land would remaine aboundantlie replenished: which being so, if such as lacke meanes here (as manie do) to support the charges incident to themselues and their families in such sort as were requisyte to go over thither, they are forthwith endowed with lands and employments, whence through their industrie they may raise their estates. And it is certaine there are verie few there but they maintaine themselues far better and with lesse care and paines then they did or could do here. Againe, if they be such as haue meanes to purchase lands there, and to transport servants at their owne charge, they haue in their lands large pennie-worths, and for their servants manie profitable imployments. Secondlie, the benefit that should redound to the natiue inhabitants of Virginia is verie greate, whilst by this meanes they might be reclaimed in time from their rude conditions and savage kinde of life to more humanitie & knowledge, being instructed in arts and occupations, and furnished with sundrie instruments so necessarie in humane societie that without them we could not well subsist, and finallie be reduced to a more orderlie forme of government. But cheiflie and in the first place, those sillie creatures sitting now in darknes and in the shadow of death might be deliuered from darknes to light, and from the power and tyrannie of Sathan unto God by fayth in Christ. Lastlie, as it would adde much to the glorie and fame of this kingdome, so would it to the strength and prosperitie thereof,

thereof, whilst we might be served from thence with sundrie commondities which we now obtaine from other places, which exporting and diverting, an infinite treasure, and that manie times to the enriching of the enemies of our State and religion, as currants, and other fruite, oyles, gumes, cotten-wooll, [19] sugar, rich-furres, caviarie, and cordage, masts, plancks, boards, pitch, tarre, pot-ashes, and sope-ashes, hempe, flax, iron, salt, silks, woad, madder, indico, and other druggs for dyes and phisicke, &c., for it is not to be doubted but these and the like druggs do cost this kingdome yearelie manie millions of wealth. Some man will say, Though these things or anie of them were brought us from this plantation, yet would there be little saued to this Commonwealth, because they would, and in equitie might expect to receiue their price for them. But the difference is verie greate. First, because we might haue them from thence at lower rat[e]s, the voyage being shorter and lesse dangerous then manie. Secondlie, the customes and other duties which we now pay in forraine countries would there be saued, for were[1] they as greate as they are in those countries, yet would they wholie redound to the benefitt of his Majestie, and so consequentlie to the good of this kingdome. Thirdlie, for as much as those which are Aduenturers thither, liue and haue their estates here in England, and condition with such as they send ouer at their charge upon their lands to receiue from them the rateable moyeties of all such profitts as shalbe receiued

on

on their sayd lands, it is evident that a greate parte of those commodities would be brought in without anie charge to this kingdome, whilst there should be neither money nor wares exported for them, and so they would become as it were the naturall commodities of our countrie. Moreouer, the planters there are of our owne countrimen, members of the same Common-wealth with us, who may no doubt in short time deserue of the Indians so well in the things before mentioned, and succouring them in their wars, &c., as may mooue them freelie without compulsion or injurie to resigne themselues to his Majesties protection and gouernment. And manie other benefits are like to arise of this worthie action, which might stirre up forwardnes in the prosecution of it. But let this suffice to be spoken in this place.[1]

# A COPPIE OF SO MUCH OF Mr. POREYS LETTER TO THE LORD OF SOUTHAMPTON AS CONCERNETH HIS RELATION OF NEW-ENGLAND

# A Coppie of so much of Mr Poreys Letter to the Lord of Southampton as concerneth his Relation of New-England

[ II ]

[22] A Coppie of so much of Mr. Poreys Letter to the Lord of Southampton as concerneth his Relation of New-England.

BY whome this new Plimouth (situated according to Captaine Jones[1] his computation in 41 degrees and 48 minutes) is now presentlie inhabited, your Lordshipp and the honorable Companie do know better then my selfe; for whome how favourablie Gods prouidence, without and indeed quite besides anie plott or designe of theirs hath wrought, especiallie in the beginning of their enterprise, is worthie to be observed. For whenas your Lordshipp knowes, their voyage was intended for Virginia, being by letters from Sir Edwine Sandis[2] and Mr. Deputie Ferrar[3] recommended to Sir Yardly,[4] then gouernour, that he should giue them the best

hath not vouchsafed, so far as ever I could learne, vpon anie Christian nations within that Continent, yet can it not be denied, but that these of the Sommer Ilands are blessed with the same priviledge according to the saying of S^t^ Paul, *If the first fruits be holie, the lumpe is also holie;* but to leave this priuiledge to them whome it concernes, and to describe to your Lordshipp the excellencie of the place, first, the harbour is not onelie pleasant for aire and prospect, but most sure for shipping both small and greate, being land-locked on all sides. The towne is seated on the ascent of a hill, which besides the pleasure of variable objects entertaining the unsatisfied eye, such is the wholesomenes of the place (as the Governor [Bradford] told me) that for the space of one whole yeare, of the two wherein they had beene there, dyed not one man, woman, or child.[1] This healthfulnes is accompanied with much plentie both of fish and fowle everie day in the yeare, as I know no place in the world that can match it. In March the eeles come forth out of places where they lie bedded all winter, into the fresh streames, and there [*i.e.*, thence] into the sea, and in their passages are taken in pots. In September they runne out of the sea into the fresh streames, to bed themselues in the ground all winter, and are taken againe in pots as they returne homewards. In winter the inhabitants digge them up, being bedded in gravell not aboue two or three foote deepe, and all the rest of the yeare they may take them in pots in the salt water of the bay. They are passing sweete,

sweete, fat, and wholesome, haueing no taste at all of the mudde, and are as greate as ever I saw anie. In Aprill & May come up another kinde of fish which they call herring, or old wiues, in infinite skulls [=schools] into a small river runing under the towne, and soe into a greate pond or lake of a mile broad where they cast their spawne, the water of the sayd river beeing in manie places not aboue halfe a foote deepe. [24] Yea, when a heape of stones is reared up against them a foote high aboue the water, they leape and tumble over and will not be beaten backe with cudgels,[1] which confirmeth not onlie that of Horace, *Naturam expellas furca licet*, &c. But that also which was thought a fable of Frier Beatus Odericus, namely, that in some parts where he had travelled, the fish in the springtime did cast them selues out of the sea upon the drie land. The inhabitants during the sayd two moneths take them up everie day in hogseheads, and with those they eate not they manure the ground, burying 2 or 3 in each hill of corne, and may, when they are able, if they see cause, lade whole ships with them. At their going up they are very fat and savory, but at their comming downe, after they haue cast their spawnes, they are shotte, and therefore leane and unwholsome.

Into another river[2] some two miles to the north-east of Plymmouth all the moneth of May the greate smelts passe up to spawne likewise in troupes innumerable, which with a scoupe, or a boule, or a peece of barke, a man

man may cast up upon the banke. About mid-way come into the harbour the manie skull [=school] off [=of] basse and blew fish, which they take with skaines [=seines?], — some fishes of a foote and a halfe, some of two foote, and some of 3 foote long, and with hookes those of 4 and 5 foote long. They enter also at flowing water [=flood tide] up into the small creeks, at the mouths whereof the inhabitants, spreading their nets, haue caught 500 and 700 at a time. These continue good May, June, Julie and August. Now as concerning the blew fish, in delicacie it excelleth all kinde of fish that ever I tasted, I except not the salmon of the Thames in his prime season, nor anie other fish. We called it by a compound name of blacke, white, blew, sweete, fat, — the skinne and skale blew; the flesh next under the scale for an inch deepe blacke, and as sweete as the marrow of an oxe; the residue of the flesh underneath purelie white, fat, and of a taste requireing noe addition of sauce. [25] By which allureing qualities it may seeme dangerouslie tending to a sarfeit, but we found by experience that haueing satisfied and in a manner glutted ourselfes therewith, it proved wholesome unto us and most easie of digestion. In the same bay lobsters are in season during the 4 moneths, so large, so full of meate, and so plentifull in number, as no man will beleeue that hath not seene. For a knife of 3 halfe pence I bought 10 lobsters that would well haue dined 40 labouring men; and the least boy in the shippe, with

with an houres labour, was able to feed the whole companie with them for two dayes, which, if those of the ship that come home do not affirme upon their oathes, let me for ever loose [=lose] my credit. Without the bay in the ocean sea, they haue all the yeare long in a manner goodlie fishing of cod and hake as in other parts of Canada. Within 2 miles southward from their plantation do begin goodlie ponds and lakes of fresh water, continuing well nigh 20 miles into the land, some with ilands in them, the water being as cleare as christall, yeilding greate varietie of fish. Muskles and slammes [=clammes] they haue all the yeare long, which being the meanest of Gods blessings here, and such as these people fat their hogs with at a low water, if ours upon any extremitie did enjoy in the South Colonie, they would never complain of famine or want, although they wanted bread. Not but that by Gods blessing the South Colonie using their industrie may in few yeares attaine to that plentie, pleasure, and strength as that they shall not need much to envie or feare the proudest nations in Europe. Oysters there are none, but at Masachusett some 20 miles to the north of this place there are such huge ones by salvages report, as I am loth to report. For ordinarie ones of which there be manie, they make to be as broad as a bushell, but one among the rest they compared to the greate cabbin in the Discoverie, and being sober and well advised persons, grew verie angrie when they were laughed

laughed at or not beleeved! I would haue had Captaine Jones to haue tried out the truth of this report, and what was the reason? If, said I, the oysters be soe greate and haue anie pearles in them, then must the pearles be answerable in greatnes to the oysters, [26] and proving round and orient also, would farre exceed all other jewells in the world! Yea, what strange and pretious things might be found in so rare a creature! But Captaine Jones his imploying his pinnace in discoverie, his graueing of the ship, his hast away about other occasions and busines, would not permit him to doe that which often since he wished he could haue done. From the begining of September till the end of March, their bay in a manner is covered with all sorts of water fowle, in such sort of swarmes and multitudes as is rather admirable then credible.

The reasons of their continuall plentie for those 7 moneths in the yeare may be the[1] continuall tranquillitie of the place, being guarded on all sides from the furie of the stormes, as also the abundance of food they finde at low water, the bottome of the bay then appearing as a greene meadow, and lastlie the number of frishets[2] runing into the bay, where after their powdred sallets,[3] their brackish shelfish, and other cates[4] they may refresh and quench their thirst. And therefore this bay is such a pond for fowle, as in any mans knowledge of our nation that hath seene it, all America hath not the like. Thus farre I proceeded and dated my letter at

Angra,

Angra,[1] Jan: 13, 1622. Touching their fruite I will not speake of their meaner sort as of raspes,[2] cherries, gooseberries, strawberries, delicate plumbes and others, but they haue commonlie through the countrie 5 severall sorts of grapes, some whereof I tasted, being fairer and larger then anie I ever saw in the South Colonie, but of a muskadell taste, which being transplanted would prosper better in the south. But wine vines may compare with Marthaes Vineyard, which I dare say will fall to the south of 40 degrees, and wilbe an earthlie paradise to him that can be mayster of it. Sassafras wanteth not all ouer this maine. In this land (as in other parts of this maine) they haue plentie of deere and of turkies as large and as fat as in anie other place.

[27] So much of [= for] the wholsomnes and plentie of the countrie. Now as concerning the qualitie of the people, how happie were it for our people in the Southern Colonie, if they were as free from wickednes and vice as these are in this place! And their industrie as well appeareth by their building, as by a substantiall pallisado about their [? settlement] of 2700 foote in compasse, stronger then I haue seene anie in Virginia, and lastlie by a blockhouse which they haue erected in the highest place of the towne to mount their ordinance upon, from whence they may commaund all the harbour. As touching their correspondencie with the Indians, they are freinds with all their neighbours, as namelie with those of Conahassit [= Cohasset] and Massachusit

Massachusit to the north, with the greate king[1] of Pakanakie[2] to the south-west, with those of Pawmet, Nausit,[3] Capawacke and others to the east and south. And notwithstanding that those of the isle Capawacke are mortall enemies to all other English, ever since Hunt[4] most wickedlie stole away their people to sell them for slaues, yet are they in good tearmes with them of Plimmouth, because as they never did wrong to anie Indians, so will they put up [with] no injurie at their hands. And though they gaue them kinde entertainement, yet stand they day and night preciselie upon their guarde. True it is that Naragansit, scituate to the west of Pakanakitt, being set on either by the French or Flemmings, sent them a snakes skinne full of arrowes, in token of hostilitie and defiance. In answer whereof haueing filled the same with shott and powder, they sent it backe againe with this message, that whensoever[5] he should be welcome, and should finde them readie to entertaine him. The shot and powder he liked not, nor would meddle with it, but caused it to be cast into the river.[6] One thing which made them to be much respected was the revenge which they attempted in the night upon Combotant,[7] the cheife man about the greate king, because they were (though falselie) informed, that he had slaine Tisquanto,[8] [28] Sir Ferdinando Gorge his Indian, who lived as their servant under their protection, interpreting the injurie done to him as done to themselues. Besides when Tisquanto was earnestlie required to be sent home

home by the greate king, they choose [= chose] rather to hazard a falling out with him, then to breake their faith and promise with Tisquanto, who had beene sure to haue gone to the pot, if they had deliuered him up, which fayth and courage of theirs hath made other distracted Indians to retire themselues into their protection, of whose labour and service they haue made good use, but especiallie of Tisquantoes. And since I haue taken occasion to speake both of amitie and enmitie, giue me leaue to note unto your Lordshipp the generall enimie of all, both Christians and Indians in Canada, that inhabit toward the ocean, being as they of New Plymmouth relate an Indian nation of man-eaters called Monhaccke,[1] who goe armed against arrowes with jacks [= coats of mail] made of cordage, and they themselues use clubs onlie. Of the language of the natiues about Plymmouth and Cape Cod I haue collected a small dictionarie, wherein I finde manie words agreeing with those of the South Colonie, and of the easterne shore of the bay. I haue one great designe, namelie to finde out what Sea[2] that is, which the Frenchmen put downe in their cards [= charts] to west in 40 degrees over against the bottome of the sayd bay, whether or no an inlett of the South Sea. It must be done by the grace of God through the guidance of the Sasquasahanacks,[3] a most barbarous nation and supposed to be man-eaters, yet upon this condition I will adventure my selfe with them by land, if I may haue a convenient barke [in which] to keepe for my securitie 3 or 4 hostages.

# A COPPIE OF A PARTE OF Mr. POREYS LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA

# A Coppie of a parte of Mr Poreys Letter to the Governor of Virginia

[ III ]

[29] A Coppie of a parte of Mr: Poreys Letter to the Governor of Virginia.

WHEREAS heretofore a vulgar error, namelie that fish is not to be had here at all times of the yeare, had generallie possessed the minds of all men, experience hath now taught us the contrarie, that in some two moneths of the cod, which never bites but in the daytime, comes altogether as good a fish called a hake, to be caught in the night. The places of fishing upon this coast are as universall as the times, for it is experimented now by one John Gibbs[1] (who this summer hath passed 5 or 6 times betweene this place and New-Plymmouth), that a man cannot cast out a hooke at anie ledge at sea in that distance, but he shall draw up goodlie fish at pleasure. Upon whose relation divers meane to fish the next yeare more toward the south-west. And Cape Cod it selfe hath not that name for naught, for it is thought that one shallops fishing onelie would

would suffice the whole plantation of New-Plymmouth all the yeare long. To the east and north of this place is found as greate plentie as to the south & west. Now whether there be anie cod or noe to the south of the place (as the Companie desire to be informed), although M^r^ Vengham,[1] a man of experience in those partes, do seeme to doubt, yet a Flemmish[2] pilot, who is to conduct Captaine Argoll[3] his pinnace into Hudsons river, putteth downe in his plot, a place some 15 leagues to the west of Elizabeths Iland[4] which he calleth Cod Iland. And by the way that yow may know how stronglie the Flemmings make title from 40 to 44 degrees, they call Hudson his river Prince Maurice his river; Cape-Cod the Stakes Hooke; Sagadahoc or thereabouts Prince Henricks river and the great bay (wherein Port-Royall taken by Captaine Argoll from the French was seated), Graue Williams Bay. And in the same place they confine Virginia within the Cape Henrie & Charles, as if it had no further extension both north & south. Also to the south of Hudsons River they name the countrie Aquahanacke. Besides that plantation of New Plymmouth in 41 degrees and ½, and that other in Massachusett in 42 or thereabouts, there is a third in Canada at Damrells Coue [= Damariscove] in 43 and 45 minutes at the cost of Sir Ferdinando Gorge, consisting of some 13 persons who are to provide fish all the yeare with a couple of shallops for the most timelie loading of a ship.

[30] And

A Copyie of a parte of Mr. Porys letter to the governor of Virginia.

Whereas heretofore a vulgar error, namelie yt fish is not to be had here at all times of yt yeare, had generallie possessed the minds of all men, by prudente Hakluyt now taught vs the Contrarie, that in some two monethes of ye yeare God wth Habers, Cod fish in ye day time, Conger eele together with good a fish, called a Bake to be caught in the night tyme plentifullie at fishing vpon this coast, were as unlooked for, as the fishes themselves, now by one John Gibbs (who this somer hath passed 4 or 6 times betweene this place and new-Plymouth) yt a man cannot cast out a hooke at anie tyme of the flood, but he shall draw vp good fish, at pleasure, vpon whose relation divers, mean to fish, the next yeare moste towards the south-west: And (as it seems) it is not that manie onelie would suffice ye whole plantation of New Plymouth all ye yeare long, To the East and North of this place is found as greate plentie as to the South & west, how farre: this I know not and God or not to the bounds of the place the Companie desire to be informed, although Mr. Vengeam a man of experience in those parts do not to doubt, not a Flemmish pilot, who is to conduct Captaine Argoll his pinnace into Hudsons river, putteth downe in this plott, a place some 15 leagues to the west of Elizabeth Island, but by his latitude God knowe. And by ye way yt you may know how strong the Flemmings make little from 40 to 44 degrees, they call Hud: on his river, prince Maurice his river, Cape Cod ye Hakabs Hooke, Aggadahoc or thereabouts, prince Henricks river, and the great Bay (whereon Port-royall lieth) by Captaine Argoll from ye French was named Prince Williams Bay. And in the same place they confine Virginia wthin ye 34 degree of Heaven as though it had no further extension both North & South. As to ye bounds of Hudsons river they name ye Mountaines of Florida nacke. Betwixt ye plantation of new Plymouth in 41 degrees and 1/2, and that other in Massachusetts bay 42 and 1/2 or thereabouts, there is a land in Canada at Darreils Cove in 43 and 44 minutes, at ye Port of St. Georges consisting of some 15 persons who are to erect a fish ye yeare with a Couple of Shallops for yt most fruitfull Loading of a Ship.

FIRST PAGE OF NORWOOD'S COPY
OF PORY'S LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA

[30] And to keepe that Iland to be fearmed [=farmed] out in Sir Ferdinandos name to such as shall there fish, and least the French or the salvages should roote them out in winter, they haue fortified themselues with a strong pallisado of spruce trees of some 10 foote high, haueing besides their small shott, one peece of ordinance and some 10 good dogs. Howsoeuer they speed, they undertake an hazardous attempt, considering the salvages haue beene this yeare (as those to the north use to be by the French) furnished in exchange of skinnes by some unworthie people of our nation with peeces, shott, powder, swords, blades, and most deadlie arrow heads, and with shallops from the French, which they can mannage as well as anie Christian, as also their peeces, it being an ordinarie thing with them to hitt a bird flying. And how litle they are to be trusted here as well as in Virginia, may appeare by the killing latelie of the maister of a ship of Plimmouth with 18 of his companie among the Ilands toward the north-east, which was the cause that the same ship lost her fishing voyage & went emptie home. Now as concerning the soyle, it is all along as farre as I could perceiue rockie, rough, and uneven, and that as I heare from a litle on this side Cape Cod as farre as to New-found-land, beinge all along the sea coast a laberinth of innumerable Ilands, or broken lands rent in sunder by intricate channels, rivers, and armes of the sea. Vpon these rockie grounds do grow naturallie firre, spruce, birch, and other trees,

trees, and in some open places abundance of raspes [= raspberries], gooseberries, hurts [= hurtleberries, or whortleberries], and such fruite. In other places, hugh ranke grasse for the graseing of cattle to make hay withall, as likewise greate plentie of pease, like our English pease, growing naturally without anie tilth. Upon these rockie places there is passing good soyle, yet culturable with how and spade rather then with the plow; yet they say that up the river Prinaquie[1] there is a place of even champian countrie without anie rockes, abounding with varietie of excellent timber, and like at Anquam neerer unto Cape Anna, a levell of more beautie and largenes. Within an infinitie of rockes may be intombed abundance of rich minerals, [31] among which silver and copper are supposed to be the cheife. Out of these rockes do gush out delicate streames of water, which together with the temper of the aire maketh this place marveilous wholesome in summer, which is the cause I haue not knowen one man sicke all the time I was there, saue onelie that villaine, which accused yow falselie concerning Swabber, and died aboard the Bona-nova,[2] as he had lived, franticke. Yet is the aire too cold here for the sommer, but with an easterlie winde subject to fogs and mists. The people seeme to be of one race with those in Virginia both in respect of their qualities and language. They are greate lovers of their children and people, and verie revengefull of wrongs offered. They make their canowes, their arrowes, their bowes, their

their tobacco-pipes, and other their implements far more neate and artificiallie then in those partes. They dresse also and painte leather, and make trouses, buskins, shooes with farre greater curiositie. Corne they set none in their parts toward the north, and that is the cause why Indian corne, pease, and such like is the best trucke for their skinnes, and then in winter especiallie when hunger doth most pinch them, which is the season when the French do use to trade with them. They haue the same names of numbers with them in the south. Accamus, in the southern language a dogge, they call here Aramouse. For malta, noe, they pronounce madda; for matcheray, nought, mathat; for mitchin, to eate, mitterim; for kijos, the sunne, hijos; and manie other like or selfe same words spoken by the rebels of the South Colonie, neither is their manner of singing and dauncing much different. Their babes here also they binde to a boarde and set them up against a wall, as they do here in the south.[1] Likewise their head they annoynt with oyle mixed with vermillion, and are of the same haire, eyes, and skinne that those are of. - - - - - - -

# NOTES

# Notes

[ xv ]

1. Another page contains a careful pen and ink drawing of the prickly-pear shrub. This illustration shows that our author was an unusually good draughtsman.

[ xvi ]

1. At a later period Norwood busied himself in the religious controversies which troubled the plantation, as may be seen in William Prynne's *A Fresh Discovery of some Prodigious New Wandring-Blasing-Stars & Firebrands*, London, 1645 (second section), pp. 11–28. Norwood wrote his 'Detectio' in England.
2. P. 9 of MS., as indicated in the complete text.

[ xvii ]

1. The MS. here has the word 'which,' which for the sake of clearness I omit.
2. Pp. 13–14 of MS., as indicated.

[ xviii ]

1. Pp. 29–30 of MS., as indicated in the complete text.

[ xx ]

1. *History of Plimoth Plantation*, ed. Doyle, pp. 182–5.
2. Pp. 22–28 of the MS., as indicated in the complete text.

[ xxiii ]

1. MS., their.

[ 3 ]

1. The text of the manuscript throughout has been normalized as to punctuation and capitalization, and any abbreviations have been extended. The first page of the manuscript is blank, as also are pages 21 and 32. This section begins on page 2. It is a well-known fact that Captain John Smith was never at the Bermudas, and that what he says about them was compiled by him from various sources hitherto

hitherto unrecognized. This is the MS. which Capt. John Smith calls '*a plot of Master* Richard Norwood *Surueior*' (*Generall Historie*, 1624, p. 177).

[ 4 ]

1. MS., this.

[ 6 ]

1. Captain John Smith, in his *Generall Historie*, 1624, pp. 185–6, gives the following description of this scourge of rats taken almost verbatim from Norwood's manuscript:

'But the great God of heauen being angry at somewhat [that] happened in those proceedings [at the third Assise in the Gouernment of Captaine Daniel Tuckar], caused such an increase of silly rats, in the space of two yeeres so to abound, before they regarded them, that they filled not onely those places where they were first landed, but swimming from place to place, spread themselues into all parts of the Countrey, insomuch that there was no Iland but it was pestered with them; and some fishes haue beene taken with rats in their bellies, which they caught in swimming from Ile to Ile: their nests they had almost in euery tree, and in most places their burrowes in the ground like conies: they spared not the fruits of the plants, or trees, nor the very plants themselues, but ate them vp. When they had set their corne, the rats would come by troupes in the night and scratch it out of the ground. If by diligent watch any escaped till it came to earing, it should then very hardly escape them: and they became noysome euen to the very persons of men. They vsed all the diligence they could for the destroying of [186] them, nourishing cats both wilde and tame, for that purpose; they vsed ratsbane, and many times set fire on the woods, that oft ran halfe a mile before it was extinct; euery man was enioyned to set twelue traps, and some of their owne accord haue set neere an hundred, which they euer visited twice or thrice in a night; they also trained vp their dogges to hunt them, wherein they became so expert, that a good dog in two or three houres would kil forty or fi[f]ty. Many other deuices they vsed to destroy them, but could not preuaile, finding them still increasing against them: nay they so deuoured the fruits of the earth, that they were destitute of bread for a yeere or two; so that when they had it afterwards, they were so wained from it, they easily neglected to eat it with their meat. Besides they endeuoured so much for the planting Tobacco for present gaine, that they neglected many things might more haue preuailed for their good, which caused amongst them much weaknesse and mortality, since the beginning of this vermine.

'At last it pleased God, but by what meanes it is not well knowne, to take them away;

away; in so much that the wilde cats and many dogs which liued on them, were famished, and many of them leauing the woods, came downe to their houses, and to such places where they vse to garbish their fish, and became tame. Some haue attributed the destruction of them [The printed text of 1624 adds 'the'.] to encrease of wild cats, but that is not likely they should be so suddenly encreased rather at that time, then foure yeeres before; and the chiefe occasion of this supposition was, because they saw some companies of them leaue the woods, and shew themselues for want of food. Others by the coldnesse of winter, which notwithstanding is neuer so great there, as with vs in March, except it be in the wind: besides the rats wanted not the fethers of young birds and chickins, which they duly killed, and Palmeta mosse to build themselues warme nests out of the wind, as vsually they did; neither doth it appeare that the cold was so mortall to them, seeing they would ordinarily swimme from place to place, and bee very fat euen in the midst of winter. It remaineth then, that as God doth sometimes effect his will without subordinate and secondary causes, so wee need not doubt, but that in the speedy encrease of this vermine; as also by the preseruation of so many of them by such weake meanes as they then enioyed, and especially in the so sudden remouall of this great annoyance, there was ioyned with and besides the ordinary and manifest meanes, a more mediate and secret worke of God.'

[ 8 ]

1. Captain John Smith's version of this passage (*Generall Historie*, p. 180) derived from our manuscript reads:

'The neglect of this diuision was very hardly conceited in *England*, so that Master *More* grew more and more in dislike with the company; notwithstanding he followed the building of these Forts so earnestly, neglecting planting of Corne, till their store was neere all consumed, whereby they became so feeble and weake, some would not, others could not, goe abroad to seeke releefe, but starued in their houses, and many that went abroad, through weaknesse were subiect to be suddenly surprized with a disease called the Feauges [*sic*], which was neither paine nor sicknesse, but as it were the highest degree of weaknesse, depriuing them of power and ability from the execution of any bodily exercises, whether it were working, walking, or what else: being thus taken, if any presently gaue them food, many times they straight recouered, yet some after a little rest would bee able to walke, but if they found not present succour, died.

'About this time or immediately before, came in a company of Rauens, which continued amongst them all the time of this mortality and then departed, which for any thing knowne, neither before nor since were euer seene or heard of: . . .'

1. Capt.

[ 11 ]

1. Capt. John Smith in his *Generall Historie*, pp. 181–2, shows that Capt. Tucker succeeded various petty, monthly governors, during whose term of office great disorder prevailed.

[ 12 ]

1. The following passages from Captaine John Smith's *Generall Historie*, 1624 (pp. 187–9), serve to identify the author of our manuscript as Richard Norwood, the official surveyor of the Bermudas:

'*The Diuision of the Summer Iles into Tribes, by Master* Richard Norwood, *Surueyor*.

'According to the directions of the Councell and Company, as they had determined by lot, M. *Norwood* tooke a plot of the Ile, and diuided it with as much faithfulnes as he could, assigning to euery Aduenturer his share or proportion, as namely, to lay out a large proportion, to bee called the generall land, and imployed for publike vses, as for the maintenance of the Gouernour, . . . The rest was to be diuided into eight parts, each part to be called a tribe, and to haue his denomination of some principall person that was Adventurer therein: and accordingly the first Tribe to bee Eastward, was then called *Bedfords* Tribe, . . . the eighth, *Sands* [= *Sandys*]: in the honours of . . . Sir *Edwin Sands*. Againe each of those Tribes were to bee diuided into fifty parts, called shares; and euery Aduenturer to haue his shares in these tribes as was determined, by casting lots in *England*, the manner of it appeares by the *Map*, and more largely by his Booke of the Suruay of the Countrey, which is in the Records of the Colony. And then began this which was before as you haue heard, but as an vnsetled and confused Chaos, to receiue a disposition, forme, and order, and become indeed a Plantation.'

. . . . .

'Touching the common ground in each Tribe, as also the ouer-plus, you may finde that at large in the Booke of Surueyes amongst their Records.

'Now though the Countrey was small, yet they could not conueniently haue beene disposed and well setled, without a true description and a suruey of it; and againe, euery man being setled where he might constantly abide, they knew their businesse, and fitted their houshold accordingly: then they built no more Cabbens, but substantiall houses, they cleered their grounds, and planted not onely such things as would yeeld them their fruits in a few moneths, but also such as would affoord them profit within a few yeares, so that in a short time the Countrey began

gan to aspire, and neerely approach vnto that happinesse and prosperitie, wherein now it flourisheth, &c.'

2. The MS. here adds the word 'which,' which for the sake of clearness I omit.

## [ 15 ]

1. Evidently employed in the sense of compass card.

2. The *Dictionary of National Biography* says that this map was published in 1622. It was certainly published in a somewhat altered form in Capt. John Smith's *Generall Historie*, 1624. The map there bears the title, '*The Summer Ils.*' In the lower left-hand corner are the following words: '*Thes Letters* A. B. C. *shew the sittuation of the* 3 *bridges* P *the Mount.* D. E. F. G. H. I. K. L. M. N. O. *ye forts how and by whom they wer made the history will shew you. The description of ye land by Mr* [*Richard*] *Norwood* All contracted into this order by Captaine Iohn Smith.*' In 1626 the map was really first published in its original form, and is here reproduced. The engraved text on the map shows that it was *drawn* in 1622, — added evidence of the date of our manuscript.

Mr. Alexander Brown in his *Genesis of the United States*, vol. II, p. 958, says that Richard Norwood drew this map in 1616, and that it was licensed for publication on January 19, 1622, by the Stationers' Company of London. It is true, that the entry occurs in the Register of that Company under the date Jan. 19[/29], 1621/22, but the statement on the map itself shows that it was drawn in 1622, not in 1616. Perhaps the drawing had not been completed when the licence was granted. Publication apparently did not occur until 1626, but in the meantime Captain John Smith seems to have seen the map and to have published it in a somewhat modified form. The engraving of the complete map as drawn by Norwood was executed in Holland, and does not bear Norwood's name. However, it can easily be proved to be his work, and about fifty years ago Gen. Lefroy ascribed the map to him and had a full-size reproduction of it made. One of these facsimiles was presented by him to Harvard University Library.

3. This passage, as it appears in Captain John Smith's *Generall Historie*, pp. 169–70, reads as follows:

'. . . Those Ilands lie in the huge maine Ocean, and two hundred leagues from any continent, . . . some twenty miles in length, and not past two miles and a halfe in breadth, enuironed with Rocks, which to the North-ward, West-ward, and South-East, extend further then they haue bin yet well discouered: by reason of those Rocks the Country is naturally very strong, for there is but two places, & scarce two, vnlesse to them who know them well, where shipping may safely come

come in, and those now are exceeding well fortified, but within is roome to entertaine a royall Fleet: the Rocks in most places appeare at a low water, neither are they much couered at a high, for it ebbs and flowes not past fiue foot; the shore for [the] most part is a Rocke, so hardened with the sunne, wind and sea, that it is not apt to be worne away with the waues, whose violence is also broke by the Rocks before they can come to the shore: it is very vneuen, distributed into hills and dales; the mold is of diuers colours, neither clay nor sand, but a meane betweene; the red which resembleth clay is the worst, the whitest resembling sand and the blackest is good, but the browne betwixt them both which they call white, because there is mingled with it a white meale is the best: vnder the mould two or three foot deep, and sometimes lesse, is a kinde of white hard substance which they call the Rocke: the trees vsually fasten their roots in it; neither is it indeed rocke or stone, or so hard, though for most part more harder then Chalke; nor so white, but pumish-like and spungy, easily receiuing and containing much water. In some places Clay is found vnder it, it seemes to be ingendred with raine water, draining through the earth, and drawing with it of his substance vnto a certaine depth where it congeales; the hardest kinde of it lies vnder the red ground like quarries, as it were thicke slates one vpon another, through which the water hath his passage, so that in such places there is scarce found any fresh water, for all or the most part of the fresh water commeth out of the Sea draining through the sand, or that substance called the Rocke, leauing the salt behinde, it becomes fresh: sometimes we digged wells of fresh water which we finde in most places, and but three or foure paces from the Sea side, some further, the most part of them would ebbe and flow as the Sea did, and be leuell or little higher then the superficies of the sea, and in some places very strange, darke and cumbersome Caues.

'The aire is most commonly cleere, very temperate, moist, with a moderate heat, very healthfull and apt for the generation and nourishing of all things, so as many things transported from hence yeeld a farre greater increase, and if it be any liuing thing it becomes fatter and better; by this meanes the country is so replenished with Hens and Turkies, within the space of three or foure yeeres, that many of them being neglected, forsake the houses and become wilde, and so liue in great abundance; the like increase there is in Hogs, tame Conies, and other Cattle according to their kindes. There seemes to be a continuall Spring, which is the cause some things come not to that maturity and perfection as were requisite; and though the trees shed their leaues, yet they are alwaies full of greene; the Corne is the same they haue in *Virginia*, and the *West-Indies:* of this and many other things without plowing or much labour, they haue two Haruests euery yeere, for they set about March, which they gather in Iuly; and againe in August, which

which they reape in December; and little slips of Fig-trees and Vines doe vsually beare fruit within the yeere, and sometimes in lesse; . . . the winter they haue obserues the time with ours, but the longest daies and nights are shorter then ours almost by two houres.

'. . . as the Prickell-peare which growes like a shrub by the ground, with broad thick leaues, all ouer-armed with long and sharpe dangerous thornes, the fruit being in forme not much vnlike a small greene Peare, and on the outside of the same colour, but within bloud red, and exceeding full of iuice; with graines not much vnlike the Pomgranat, and colouring after its nature. . . .'

[ 18 ]

1. MS., then.

[ 19 ]

1. MS., Tlying-fish.

[ 20 ]

1. Governor Butler's work here mentioned is evidently Sloane MS. 750 now in the British Museum. This manuscript was edited by General Sir J. Henry Lefroy for the Hakluyt Society in 1882 (vol. LXV) under the title of *The History of the Bermudas or Somer Islands*, wherein its authorship was mistakenly attributed to Captain John Smith. Captain Butler was apparently Governor of the Bermudas from the autumn of 1619 to about autumn, 1622.

[ 25 ]

1. That is, limberness.

[ 30 ]

1. MS., They were.

[ 31 ]

1. Upon page 20 of the MS. there is a pen and ink drawing of the prickly-pear shrub. Page 21 is blank.

[ 35 ]

1. Capt. Thomas Jones of the 'Discovery.'
2. Sir Edwin Sandys or Sands.
3. Mr. Nicolas Farrar.
4. Sir George Yeardley or Yearley.

1. Evidently

[ 36 ]

1. Evidently Annisquam.
2. Patuxet.

[ 37 ]

1. Captain John Smith in his *Advertisements*, London, 1631, pp. 18–9, gives the following description of Plymouth Colony in 1623 and 1624, thus confirming the truth of Pory's narrative:

'[1623.] AT *New-Plimoth*, having planted there Fields and Gardens, such an extraordinary drought insued, all things withered, that they expected no harvest; and having long expected a supply, they heard no newes, but a wracke split upon their Coast, they supposed their Ship: thus in the very labyrinth of despaire, they solemnly assembled themselves together nine houres in prayer. At their departure, the parching faire skies all overcast with blacke clouds, and the next morning, such a pleasant moderate raine continued fourteene daies, that it was hard to say, whether their withered fruits or drooping affections were most revived; not long after came two Ships to supply them, with all their Passengers well, except one, and he presently recovered; for themselves, for all their wants, there was not one sicke person amongst them: the greater Ship they returned fraught with commodities. . . .

'[1624.] In this Plantation [New-Plimoth] there is about an hundred and fourescore persons, some Cattell, but many Swine and Poultry: their Towne containes two and thirty houses, whereof seven were burnt, with the value of five or six hundred pounds in other goods, impailed about halfe a mile, within which within a high Mount, a Fort, with a Watch-tower, well built of stone, lome, and wood, their Ordnance well mounted, and so healthfull, that of the first Planters not one hath died this three yeares: yet at the first landing at *Cape Cod*, being an hundred passengers, besides twenty they had left behind at *Plimoth* for want of good take heed, thinking to finde all things better than [*sic*] I advised them, spent six or seven weekes in [19] wandring up and downe in frost and snow, wind and raine, among the woods, cricks, and swamps, forty of them died, and threescore were left in most miserable estate at *New-Plimoth*, where their Ship left them, and but nine leagues by Sea from where they landed, whose misery and variable opinions, for want of experience, occasioned much faction, till necessity agreed them. . . .'

1. Captain

[ 38 ]

1. Captain John Smith in his *Generall Historie*, p. 246, has the following passage manifestly based on this statement of Pory's:

'. . . But now experience hath taught them at *New-Plimouth*, that in Aprill there is a fish much like a Herring that comes vp into the small Brookes to spawne, and where the water is not knee deepe, they will presse vp through your hands, yea though you beat at them with Cudgels, and in such abundance as is incredible, which they take with that facility they manure their land with them when they haue occasion; . . .'

2. Evidently Smelt River, which runs into Smelt Pond.

[ 41 ]

1. MS., their.
2. brooks.
3. salads.
4. viands.

[ 42 ]

1. Evidently Angra, a town or city of the Azores.
2. raspberries.

[ 43 ]

1. Evidently Massasoyt.
2. Otherwise known as Pakanokick, Packanoki, etc.
3. Capt. John Smith speaks of 'Cape *Cod*, by which is *Pawmet* and the Ile *Nawset*' (*Generall Historie*, p. 208). Nausit and Capawacke are islands often mentioned by early writers. Thomas Prince in his own annotated copy of Smith's *Gen. Hist.* has written: 'Nawsit is near 50 miles from Plimouth by land, tho but about 16 or 18 right a cross by sea.' Capawacke or Capawuck apparently lay southwards from the Shoals of Cape James.
4. Thomas Hunt is said to have carried away twenty-four of the natives in 1614.
5. That is evidently, at any time.
6. For comparison I give the versions of Smith and Bradford. All three of the accounts are different. Smith's version (*Generall Historie*, p. 234) reads:

'Now you are to vnderstand this [=these] 37. [colonists] brought nothing, but relied wholly on vs to make vs more miserable then before, which the *Sachem Cauanacus*

*Cauanacus* [= *Canonicus*] no sooner vnderstood, but sent to *Tusquantum* our Interpreter, a bundle of new arrowes in a Snakes skinne; *Tusquantum* being absent, the Messenger departed, but when we vnderstood it was a direct challenge, we returned the skin full of powder and shot, with an absolute defiance, which caused vs [to] finish our fortification with all expedition. . . .'

Bradford's narrative (ed. Doyle, p. 157) runs as follows:

'Sone after this ships departure, that great people of the Narigansets in a brauing maner, sente a messenger vnto them with a bundl[e] of arrows tyed aboute with a great sneak-skine; which their Interpretours tould them, was a threatening, & a chaleng; vpon which the Gouernour with the aduice of others, sente them a round answere, . . . And by another mesenger sente the sneake skine back with bulits in it, but they would not receiue it but sent it back againe. . . .'

7. Also called Corbitant, Coubatant, etc., by contemporary writers.

8. Also known as Tusquantum, Squantum, etc. The various spellings of this name suggest that the Indians may have made use of a letter *ts* like the Hebrew *tsade*.

[ 44 ]

1. The tribe of Mohawks (Mowhacckes) is evidently intended.

2. As yet I have not been able to identify this sea with certainty. Probably it is Lake Erie.

3. The 'Sasquesahanocks' are mentioned by Capt. John Smith as living upon the banks of a river in Virginia which the English called Bolus. (See Arber's reprint of Capt. John Smith's *Works*, 1884, p. 55.) In Smith's map of Virginia, however, this river is named the 'Sasqu[e]sahanough,' and the name of the tribe is spelled in the same way, while in the right-hand top corner of the map is given the picture of an Indian wearing the characteristic dress of these 'Gyantlike people.' In the so-called Simancas Map of 1610, 'Sasquasahanock' appears in place of 'Sasquesahanough.' (See Alexander Brown: *The Genesis of the United States*, Boston and New York, 1890, vol. 1, at p. 456 where this map is reproduced.)

[ 47 ]

1. John Gibbs was master of the 'Marmaduke.'

[ 48 ]

1. Mr. Vengham I have not been able to identify.

2. MS., Tlemmish.

3. Sir Samuel Argall.

4. An

4. An island mentioned also by Captain John Smith. See Dr. E. Arber's reprint of Smith's *Works*, in which the index is very useful. In the so-called Simancas Map of 1610, referred to above, the island is named 'Elizabethas Ile.'

[ 50 ]

1. The river Prinaquie I have thus far been unable to identify.

2. The 'Bona Nova' was a well-known vessel of this period, but I have as yet come across no further reference to Swabber.

[ 51 ]

1. This statement shows that this letter was evidently written by Pory while he was in Virginia.

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